

## Pueblo Crew Hope

SEOUL (UPI)—A member of the Czech delegation to the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea hinted Tuesday the crew of the USS Pueblo may be freed late this year, it was reported Wednesday.

The government-owned daily Seoul Shinmun quoted the Czech officer as saying "the release of the Pueblo crew may be realized toward the end of this year." The paper identified the officer as Col. M. Rolf.

The Czech reportedly made the remarks to a reporter at the 347th meeting of the Korean Military Armistice Commission secretaries at the truce village of Panmunjom Tuesday.

Rolf reportedly said delegates to the neutral nations commission have been entering North Korea frequently but they met no North Korean official beyond Maj. Gen. Chung Kuk Pak, the Communist senior delegate to the Korean Armistice Commission.

(A State Department spokesman in Washington said Wednesday that the next U.S.-North Korean talks on the Pueblo case would be March 21. The meeting was requested by the North Koreans. Robert J. McCloskey, State Department news officer, said the new meeting would be the twelfth of the series. The most recent was on March 9.)

## Letters Said Dictated

MADISON, Wis. (UPI)—An aide to Secretary of State Dean Rusk said Tuesday that letters sent to congressmen under the signatures of crew members of the captured intelligence ship Pueblo appear to have been dictated by others.

Winthrop Brown, special assistant to Rusk and former ambassador to South Korea, said the letters asked members of Congress for aid in obtaining release by North Korea of the Pueblo's crew.

But Brown said he doubted the crewmen composed the letters. He said the language was "physiology American seamen second class are not likely to use."

Brown said negotiations for release of the Pueblo crewmen were "not very encouraging."

## Swede in Korea Post

SEOUL (UNC)—Rear Adm. Nils E. Odman, incoming Swedish alternate member of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, has arrived in Korea replacing Maj. Gen. Carl G. Smedmark, outgoing Swedish member.

## Fishermen Freed in Spy Case

SEOUL — Eight Republic of Korea fishermen, accused of spying for North Korea and convicted by lower courts on the charge, were freed Tuesday by the ROK Supreme Court.

The court found in its ruling that "to preserve their lives and being in an unavoidable situation", the fishermen had to aid the Communists.

Following the ruling by the court Tuesday, the prosecutor

## Church for Deaf-Mutes

# Seoul Pastor Talks with Hands

Story and Photo  
By SGT. KIL NAM RO  
SAS Korea Bureau

SEOUL — "Generally speaking, most deaf-mutes go through life with a sense of frustration coming from their inability to understand the goings-on around them.

"But they can be taught gentleness and contentment

through religion," said The Rev. Yun Sam Park, pastor of Youngnak Presbyterian Church.

Youngnak Presbyterian Church in Seoul claims to be the largest church in Korea and holds the distinction of being the only church in the republic to hold services for deaf-mutes.

Rev. Park's interest in the welfare of the deaf-mutes began

when he was a minister and teacher for the unfortunates at the Pyongyang Deaf-Mute School in North Korea.

Park worked in the North Korean Capital until shortly before the Korean War. The war disrupted his work, but after the conflict, he moved South and affiliated himself with the newly-founded Youngnak Pres-

byterian Church.

Remembering his work with deaf-mutes in North Korea, Rev. Park saw the need of church services for this group of forgotten people and approached the head of the church, The Rev. Dr. (D.D.) Han, with the idea for services for them.

"Unfortunately, the deaf-mutes cannot fully appreciate the sounds of the hymns and the sounds associated with the church, but they can receive the benefits of the religious teachings through the use of sign language," Park said.

The silent services are held using "Suha" and "Gilha," the Japanese system of sign language common to Japan and Korea.

"Television is also used to get the message to the congregation," says Rev. Park.

He says that he approaches the services to deaf-mutes with the idea of teaching as simply as possible, and uses the most elemental sign language so his worshippers get the full message.

Rev. Park's first service for deaf-mutes in 1946 was for a group of seven. Today he preaches to 300.

Youngnak, which claims that its 13,000 member congregation is the largest in Korea, has shown that greatness and size does not forget the unfortunate.



Jin Koo Lee, assistant preacher, Youngnak Presbyterian Church, Seoul, delivers a sermon to a congregation of deaf-mutes by using "suha" and "gilha"—sign language by fingers.

## N. Korea Charges U.S. Raids

TOKYO (AP) — Communist North Korea charged Wednesday that U.S. armed personnel twice attacked North Korean posts across the Military Demarcation Line early Wednesday.

It did not say if there were any casualties.

The official Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), monitored here, claimed the first attack was made in the eastern sector of the Demarcation Line at 5 a.m. Wednesday and the second one on the central sector at 8:30 a.m.

The United Nations Command in Seoul, South Korea, denied the North Korean accusation on the former case and described it as "another Communist propaganda claim which is ridiculous." There was no immediate comment from the United Nations Command on the alleged second incident.

## Sister-City Ties Slated

SEOUL (S&S) — Seoul City Mayor Hyun Ok Kim left South Korea Tuesday for Taipei to take part in a ceremony establishing sister-city ties between the two Oriental capitals.

The mayors agreed on the relationship when Taipei's Henry Kao visited here last summer, a Seoul city government official said.

The spokesman said Kim will spend two weeks in Southeast Asia observing city development projects and administration in Kuala Lumpur, Hong and Singapore.

Pacific Stars & Stripes, March 22, 1967

## Gen. Im Cited in Pentagon

SEOUL (S&S)—The Republic of Korea's chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Chung Sik Im, was awarded the Legion of Merit at ceremonies held at the Pentagon Tuesday.

Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, presented the medal for "outstanding professional competence, leadership, and devotion to duty which have resulted in greatly increasing the combat effectiveness of the armed forces of the Republic of Korea."

## Quake Victims Found

PALERMO, Sicily (UPI) — Rescue workers have recovered two more bodies from the ruins of the village of Gibellina, raising to 272 the official death toll from the Jan. 15 earthquake. At least 18 more persons have since died of injuries, hardship, or have committed suicide.

## 1st Claims Check Paid Under SOFA

SEOUL (USFK)—Lt. Col. Julian E. Carrick Jr., chief, U.S. Armed Forces Claims Service (USAFCA), Korea, has presented a check for \$1,270 to the Korean government on behalf of the USAFCA.

The payment represented the American contribution to claims compensation paid by the Korean government under Article 23 of the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA).

This was the first payment made by the United States under Article 23 and marks a step forward in the harmonious implementation of international understanding, officials said.

Receiving the money for the Korean government was Sung Jung Lee, director, Bureau of Legal Affairs, Ministry of Justice. The check covers the U.S. Government's share of 75 per cent of all claims generated by U.S. Forces acting in the line of duty in Seoul Special City since August 9, 1967.

Since Feb. 9, 1968, the U.S. is committed to pay 75 per cent of all claims generated by U.S. Forces throughout Korea.

## Arrest Lawyer For Libel

SEOUL (AP)—Opposition lawmaker Yun Hyong Cho, who called President Chung Hee Park "A boss of a smuggling ring" in 1966, was arrested Wednesday by the Seoul District Court on a charge of libel.

The court could arrest him without consent of the legislative branch because the National Assembly was not in session.

Indicted by the prosecution office last May, the lawmaker from the minority Shinmin (New Democratic) Party has been under investigation by court authorities but had ignored a court subpoena on eight occasions before his arrest Wednesday.

## 1st RQK Postmistress

SEOUL (S&S) — Mrs. Kun Sun Kim, 35, mother of three children, has been appointed postmistress for Kumgan County, South Chungchong Province, becoming the first woman in Korea to hold such a position, a postal authority said.



Time of insurrection: Kwangju residents sweep through the city in commandeered vehicles in May 1980. Inset: Yoon Sang Won, one of the organisers of the final confrontation with the army.



SHIN JAE HOON INSET: BRADLEY MARTIN

## REWRITING HISTORY

# Kwangju Revisited

New information emerges on martyred leader of 1980 Korean uprising

By Bradley Martin

**T**he tombstone looks like hundreds of others in Kwangju's May 18 Cemetery. It bears a simple inscription: *Yoon Sang Won. Born August 19, 1950. Struggle Committee spokesman in the provincial capital building. Shot at dawn on May 27, 1980, when the military advanced into the city.*

For South Koreans, Kwangju holds a special place in the country's history. The site of a bloody citizen rebellion against the military in 1980, it serves as a symbol of resistance against dictatorial repression. But while the Kwangju uprising was crucial to the nation's ultimately successful march towards democracy, much about the nine-day revolt has remained a mystery. Debate has raged over who, if anyone, was its mastermind. Now, an answer is finally emerging. Yoon Sang Won's friends and former comrades say the 29-year-old labour activist scripted the final

stand-off and should be viewed as Kwangju's most purposeful martyr.

The rebellion began on May 18 when troops dispatched to control students protesting against the country's new strongman, Gen. Chun Doo Hwan, went on a rampage of murder, bayonetting demonstrators and other young residents they grabbed at random off the streets.

Outraged by the scores of mangled bodies littering the city, Kwangju's residents armed themselves and formed a taxicab cavalry. By May 21, government soldiers were forced to retreat, leaving citizens in control of Kwangju until fresh troops arrived six days later.

No one had more to do with Kwangju's resistance than Yoon, a wiry, frizzy-haired former banker. According to his friends, Yoon masterminded the organised portion of the uprising. Military rulers at the time held North Korean agents or then-dissident leader Kim Dae Jung responsible.

Beyond the question of who organised the uprising, the statements by Yoon's friends also call into question one aspect of another theory behind the rebellion: that official United States action and inaction contributed to the violence. Although many radical students and bitter Kwangju residents still blame the U.S. for failing to stop the bloodshed, Yoon's former colleagues say their leader only pretended to expect American intervention. Moreover, the South Korean army actually played into his hands by killing him.

Yoon's role at Kwangju was so large, it is surprising that so few people, even in South Korea, know his name. But Yoon came briefly and anonymously to the world's attention on May 26, 1980, eight days after the uprising began. Foreign correspondents who had been able to pass through the military lines encircling the city that day were invited to a press conference called in an office in the Toch'ong,

the South Cholla provincial capital building, which demonstrators had captured.

As spokesman for the group, Yoon's composure before the media contrasted with the near-hysteria of the armed, posturing and considerably younger students who served as his bodyguards. There was cause for hysteria, however. According to news accounts, more than 100 Kwangju residents had been killed in the massacre, an estimate Yoon said was more than 150 people too low.

Adding to the panic, that morning the soldiers surrounding the city had moved a bit closer to its centre. Recognising that the militant holdouts obviously lacked the fire-power to resist the attackers for long, Yoon insisted that the only hope was for the U.S. to intervene. Although Yoon clearly had accepted a more public role than many of his colleagues, he would not give his name to journalists, even as he insisted the army already knew who he was.

Finally, this writer asked what seemed to be the key question: were the poorly armed militants prepared to die resisting, or would they surrender? Yoon replied calmly, "We'll fight back to the last man." His expression was friendly, but his eyes unmistakably betrayed the expectation that he would die soon.

Early the next morning the army retook Kwangju. An Associated Press correspondent, Terry Anderson, who witnessed the fighting, counted 16 new corpses. Among them was Yoon's.

Yoon Sang Won grew up on a rice farm about an hour's drive from Kwangju, the eldest son of parents who struggled to send him to a Catholic secondary school. At Chonnam National University in Kwangju, Yoon joined the democratic student movement of the time, opposing President Park Chung Hee's schemes for preserving dictatorial power.

Conscripted into the army after his sophomore year, Yoon returned to a new campus mood when he resumed his studies three years later. Simply opposing Park was no longer enough, he discovered. Students sought a more all-encompassing, progressive view of the world. Yoon and others devoured Hegelian philosophy, Third World radical texts and Western books on economic history, capitalism, socialism and communism. Renting a room in a Kwangju slum, Yoon watched the wretched lives of the slum-dwellers and agonised over his future. Should he become a salaried man and help put his younger siblings through school? Or should he opt for an entirely different direction, organising a social movement?

In 1977, Yoon graduated and won a job

with one of the largest banks in Seoul. But in the capital, he again lived in a slum, and after six months he resigned. He told his father that he was committed to helping the nation. "My son was a boy of strong character and will," his father recalls. "I thought he was too sympathetic to the oppressed and exploited people. So I told him: 'Make a lot of money and help them.' My son answered: 'How many people could I possibly help with my money? I want to change the world!'"

Yoon's studies had convinced him that South Korea's trend toward industrialisation was critical and that the times required



Short-lived triumph: rioters with captured armoured car; (below) captured militants.



a labour movement. "He was not an ideologue, not a communist, but rather just something more than a populist," says Lee Tae Bok, a friend who now publishes a weekly labour newspaper in Seoul.

Starting at a job in a plastics factory in 1978, Yoon set up a night school, offering classes for workers on labour rights and other subjects. One year later, he became the Kwangju-area organiser for the National Democratic Workers' League and its affiliated student organisation. Lee was

one of the founders of the two organisations, known collectively as Haklim, or Student Forest. That August, Haklim organised a sit-in by textile workers at the Seoul offices of then-opposition leader Kim Young Sam's New Democratic Party. Harsh reprisals by the authorities fed rising anti-government sentiment that two months later culminated in demonstrations in the southeastern cities of Pusan and Masan.

On October 26, as the nation's political crisis reached the boiling point, the chief of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency assassinated Park. After 18 years of Park's military-backed rule, South Koreans prepared to elect a civilian president from among a field of candidates including Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam. But by late spring the following year it was clear the military had no intention of permitting free elections. On May 17, 1980, Chun ended South Koreans' hopes for democracy. The new strongman extended martial law nationwide, closed the National Assembly and universities and arrested Kim Dae Jung.

Expecting Chun's coup, Haklim's Lee and Yoon prepared for the massive resistance they knew would follow. They had agreed, Lee says, to "fight to the end." But instead of developing in Pusan, Masan and

Seoul, the hot spot for protest turned out to be Kwangju, Yoon's home territory and the capital of Kim Dae Jung's native province. The scores of killings by special forces troops on May 18, just one day after Chun extended martial law, ignited the rage of citizens of all ages. As Yoon spent the next two days publishing a leaflet called *Fighters' News* and mobilising people to make Molotov cocktails, he watched the number of protesters in the city swell to over 100,000.

By May 21, when about 200,000 people had joined the protests, citizens were seizing weapons from police stations and military depots. Yoon led an attack on an arms depot and was involved in an offensive at a car factory, where he commandeered vehicles, recalls Chun Yong Ho, one of his closest comrades.

After Kwangju residents forced the troops out of the city that night, the mayor appointed a committee, dominated by local officials, to negotiate with the army. The committee appealed for calm and asked citizens to surrender all seized weapons. Although most demonstrators yielded their weapons, emotions still ran high. "From this point on, Mr. Yoon's role expanded," Chun says. Yoon pretended to cooperate while he arranged for some more radical people to be added to the

committee. By May 23, his people held the body's majority.

On May 25, Yoon organised a massive rally. He called on young people to arm themselves, even giving volunteers a short military drill before sending them to guard the provincial building. He made a speech during which he asserted that citizens wanted "a fundamental solution." If they simply returned their remaining weapons, he warned, what would follow? He insisted that any committee member who disagreed that armed resistance was the only alternative to craven submission should leave the committee. While a few people departed, others stayed. Yoon, explains Chun, was "maybe the only one who had a strategic view."

But what was that strategic view? Chun and several other former colleagues of Yoon are quick to answer. Former student activist Park Sung Hyun says that Yoon's vision emphasised "pockets of resistance." He had hoped that Kwangju would serve as a symbol and rallying point for future revolutionaries, making surrender there out of the question. The idea was "to make the price higher" for the regime by holding out until the last. The rebels would present Chun Doo Hwan with a dilemma: "If you do not have the guts to kill more people, you surrender. And if you do have enough guts, then you prove yourself a barbarian."

Yoon and his top lieutenants were willing to risk their lives on the outcome. While the stand-off continued, they "purposely disseminated all the hopeful news." As part of that effort, they suggested that the Americans might intervene to avert further bloodshed. In fact, says Chun Yong Ho, "in their minds they did not believe in it sincerely." The purpose was to give people outside the inner circle the courage to stay the course.

On the night of May 26, the dissidents received word that the army planned to attack early the next morning. Some 300 people were in the provincial building, recalls Chun. Yoon gathered them together and told the women and any boys who had not yet graduated from high school to go home. That left about 150 people.

When the fighting began the next day, the rebels' M1s and carbines were no match for the army's M16s. Negligible training also harmed the rebels. As Yoon's armed fighters guarded the front of the provincial building, the military approached from the rear. Once inside the complex, the soldiers issued their ultimatum to the rebels: throw all weapons out into the hallway and crawl out to surrender, or be killed. Some surrendered. Yoon carried his



Kwangju remembers its heroes of 1980.



Yoon's friends pay their respects to a departed comrade.

gun out into the hallway, where a soldier shot him.

Planning for the armed resistance had clearly been poor. But some veterans of the Kwangju uprising such as Chun acknowledge that effective military resistance was never an important part of the rebels' agenda. Yoon's plan had actually been to hold a symbolic mass suicide.

Chun and others eventually came to understand and appreciate Yoon's "pockets of resistance" policy, but public recognition of Yoon's role has been slower. At his May 26 press conference, Yoon told foreign correspondents that the army knew who he was, but it seems neither the soldiers nor most other Koreans ever heard of him or the "pockets of resistance" concept.

One reason for Yoon's lack of recognition is that the press was prevented from reporting accurately on Kwangju for years

following the uprising. But subsequent official reports have also overlooked Yoon, and it appears that even the government was not fully aware of his role.

Lee, Yoon's friend, believes the government ignored Yoon because it was too preoccupied with two other versions of who had been in charge at Kwangju. The government alleged that Kim Dae Jung — who was in prison at the time — stage-managed events at Kwangju. But Lee insists that was false. Kim and Yoon "never met each other," he says.

The regime's other version, which Lee thinks officials cynically fabricated, was that "impure elements" — otherwise known as North Korean agents or sympathisers — had planned the revolt. Lee denies this theory as well, saying the Kwangju uprising "was not influenced by the North at all." As proof, he says that in 1979 he had interviewed Yoon about his views on the North, while vetting him for membership in the National Democratic Workers' League. "Mr. Yoon was very critical of the North," he recalls "He felt the North Korean regime did not understand the real situation in the South." Yoon was also critical of Kim Il Sung's personality cult and of the plans for dynastic succession by the president's son, Kim Jong Il.

Today, recognition of Yoon's role in the Kwangju uprising has finally begun to emerge. His friends are staging an annual Yoon Sang Won Festival in Kwangju; there is an award in his name presented to someone deemed to have made outstanding contributions to democracy; and an old comrade, Lim Nak Pyong, has published a biography of him. Eventually mainstream historians will sort out Yoon's precise contributions, but what is already clear, say his friends, is that he devoted his brief life to bringing change to South Korea — and now change has come.

As historians settle on what credit Yoon deserves, there is no denying that the Kwangju revolt he helped to organise pushed the country towards democracy. The army's brutality at Kwangju was so great, it seemed it would take many years for the country's democrats to regain their courage. But when pitched street battles between demonstrators and riot troops in 1987 forced the military to agree to free elections, says Lee Jae Ui, secretary-general of the Chonnam Social Research Institute in Kwangju, "the reason why the Korean people could overcome that terrible violence so quickly was because of Kwangju." ■

Bradley Martin, who covered the Kwangju uprising for *The Baltimore Sun*, is writing a book on North Korea.

Sam Moffett

## Students, Intellectuals, and the Churches: Their Roles in Korean Politics

ROBERT A. KINNEY

**I**n assessing the roles that students, intellectuals, and the churches have played and are now playing in Korea, and their impact on the Korean political system, it may be helpful to review briefly the background of these significant elements in Korean society.

To begin with, it is important to realize that probably nowhere else in the world is there so ancient and continuous a tradition of student demonstrations, memorializing, and active participation in national politics as in Korea.<sup>1</sup> During the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910) period, the main path to power led through the examination system to the central bureaucracy. The bureaucratic and authoritarian Yi Dynasty emphasized the importance of Confucian education, and tended to infuse the schools with politics. The Korean National Academy, whose director and top staff were career officials of the central government, had the function of teaching the upper classes of society and preparing them for the examinations which were the gateway to careers in the bureaucratic service. This system, in changed and modern dress, has been largely retained in today's Seoul National University. The National Academy students regarded themselves not only as a specially privileged elite, but almost as a part of the governmental system. Academy students controlled most of their own intramural affairs, could memorialize the Throne, and on occasion participated in street demonstrations.

In Confucian Korea, the traditional veneration with which the common people regarded the intellectuals permitted the latter to exercise substantial influence on the general public. In this highly political Korean society, the activities of the intellectuals almost inevitably took on a political flavor, and progressive scholars in the late Yi period, eager to modernize Korea and reform a corrupt bureaucracy, at times assumed antigovernment roles.

Several important developments in the period from the opening of Korea in 1876 until liberation from Japan in 1945 combined to stimulate Korean nationalism and significantly influence the future roles of the intellectuals, students, and churches in Korean politics. These developments include the *Tong Hak* Rebellion of 1894-95, the advance of Christianity into Korea, the absorption of Korea into the Japanese Empire in 1910, and the March First Korean Independence Movement of 1919.<sup>2</sup>

The *Tong Hak* (Eastern Learning) movement began in 1860, and had religion as its doctrinal base. It was a mixture of the main religious or philosophical ideas of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Korean spirit worship, plus some limited Christian aspects. While it started out as a religious movement, initially led by impoverished and disaffected intellectuals who were members of the upper class, it became increasingly political, with strong nationalistic, antigovernment, and anti-Japanese overtones. Its main appeal was to the impoverished and oppressed elements of the population in all parts of Korea. In 1894-95, the movement launched one of the largest rebellions in Korean history, beginning in the Chollas and spreading rapidly throughout Korea. Since the Yi rulers were unable to put down the uprising, they appealed to China for military assistance. When the Chinese sent troops to Korea, the Japanese were given an excuse to do the same. The rebellion was eventually crushed, with many thousands of *Tong Hak* casualties. The *Tong Hak* movement helped to develop nationalistic attitudes among the Korean masses, as well as stimulate opposition to the weak and corrupt Yi rulers. The *Tong Hak* religion was later revived under a new name, *Chondogyo* (Teaching of the Way of Heaven), a religious group which played an important role in the 1919 Korean independence demonstrations, and which is still an active religion today.

Christianity first entered Korea surreptitiously through China in the 18th and 19th centuries, brought by Roman Catholics; but

Catholic converts met with rigorous persecution from the rulers of the then Hermit Kingdom. After the opening of Korea to the world in 1876, the Korean rulers gradually relaxed their opposition to the presence of foreigners and their religions in Korea. The first Protestant missionaries from the United States arrived in 1884-85, and their numbers grew rapidly. Both the Catholics and the Protestants found Korea to be an unusually fertile field for Christianity, and the number of Christians increased rapidly. The missionaries from the West brought not only their churches but also Christian schools, Western medicine, doctors, and hospitals. Along with these missionaries and their Christian institutions came exposure to democratic ideals and the concept of equality for all people, which found a ready response among many students, intellectuals, and members of the disadvantaged classes.

The Korean Christians, with their close ties to Westerners, became a focal point for the growth of Korean nationalism. For example, of the 33 signers of the Korean Declaration of Independence of March 1, 1919, some 16 were Christians, 15 were members of *Chondogyo*, and two were Buddhists. The Japanese were caught by surprise by the nationwide independence demonstrations that followed, and which had been organized mainly by the Korean Christians without the knowledge of the missionaries.<sup>3</sup> Following the reading of the eloquent independence declaration in Pagoda Park in downtown Seoul, the signers gave themselves up for arrest by the Japanese police. Meantime, uncounted thousands of Koreans throughout the country began peaceful mass demonstrations, shouting for Korean independence from Japan. The Japanese responded to these demonstrations with widespread arrests, beatings, torture, and village burnings. Estimates of casualties vary widely, with the Japanese estimates much lower than those of the Koreans; but both numbered in the thousands. Prominent among the Korean participants were students from all parts of Korea, as well as many of their professors and teachers. Significantly, Korean women participated in these demonstrations for the first time for such feminine activity in Korea.

It could be said that this effort failed, for it did not result in independence for Korea, although it did precipitate moves to moderate the harshness of Japanese colonial rule in Korea. But this essentially peaceful, nonviolent, nationwide movement mobilized the nationalist fervor of the Koreans. The cruel Japanese suppress-

sion of the movement helped to weave the *Sam Il* (March First) spirit into the hearts of the Korean people and into the fabric of their independence movement. This movement, with its broad support, its idealism and sacrifice, became a nationalist symbol around which Koreans could rally and be proud. It was through such events that the Korean students, intellectuals, and leaders of Christian and non-Christian churches felt that they were serving as promoters of Korean nationalism, as the conscience of the nation, trying to bring an oppressive and unjust colonial rule to an end.

## II

The liberation of Korea after 35 years of oppressive Japanese colonial rule was an historic event which produced an "explosive time" among the Korean people.<sup>4</sup> The break with the frustrating past was so sudden and the expectations for the future so unlimited that a wave of euphoric and unbounded optimism swept over Korea. Freed from the onerous Japanese efforts to denationalize them and to make them over into what they perceived to be "second-class" Japanese, the students, intellectuals, and Christians were eager, psychologically and ideologically, to discard the authoritarian trappings of the Yi and Japanese colonial times, and to welcome a democratic era and the speedy modernization of Korea.

The postliberation division of Korea at the 38th parallel, however, was a sobering development and heightened tensions during this "explosive time" in Korea. The two liberating powers, the United States in the south and the Soviet Union in the north, represented the two main streams of ideology in the world after World War II, democracy and communism. A virtual flood of several million Koreans fled southward across the 38th parallel in the years immediately following liberation, trying to escape from an unpopular and oppressive Communist regime. These Korean refugees included a substantial number who were students and intellectuals, many of whom were also Christians. The three years of the Korean War (1950-53), with its widespread destruction and heavy civilian and military casualties, resulted in much discouragement and disillusionment for some Koreans.

In this "explosive time" in Korea, one of the largest and most important developments was the almost unbelievably rapid



expansion of education.<sup>5</sup> The student population increased from 1.5 million in 1945 to 3.8 million in 1955, six million in 1964, over eight million in 1971, and more than ten million at present. Of special significance was the fact that the number of Korean students in colleges and universities increased from 7,819 in 1945 to 186,789 in 1971, an increase of almost 24 times. In the same period, the number of middle and high school students increased from 24,572 in 1945 to 1,866,666 in 1971, an increase of about 22 times. The number of primary students increased from 1.3 million in 1945 to 5.8 million in 1971, an increase of about 4.2 times. This extraordinary rapid increase in the numbers of educational institutions and students in Korea represented a tremendous process of human capital formation, which had a very significant and favorable impact on the development of the Korean economy and civil administration in the 1960s and 1970s. This educational explosion leveled the previous stratification of the society between the ruling class and the mass of commoners, which had been petrified during the long Yi period and was more or less maintained in the Japanese colonial period.

The rapid expansion of education was duplicated by an equally rapid urbanization of the country, with a steady stream of Koreans leaving the rural areas to go to the cities, especially to Seoul and other major population centers. These urban centers also proved to be an irresistible magnet for college graduates. In 1960, 72 percent of those who had a college education lived in cities with more than 50,000 population, even though these cities contained only 28 percent of the total population at that time. At the same time, the numbers of magazines and newspapers were rapidly increasing, and the daily circulation of leading newspapers increased from about 17,000 in 1945 to about 400,000 in 1960. As one observer stated: "There was thus developing not only an increasingly literate society, but an increasingly vocal urban population, stimulated by the concentration of intellectuals, students, and mass media."<sup>6</sup>

Following liberation, the number of Catholic and Protestant churches, as well as the number of Korean Christians, grew rapidly. Protestant Christians in 1945 numbered less than 600,000 in all Korea, but the number in the Republic of Korea alone increased to 600,000 in 1950; 1,340,000 in 1960; 2,225,000 in 1970; and well over six million in 1980. The Catholics, who num-

bered about 200,000 in 1945, grew to almost 600,000 in 1970 and an estimated 1.2 million at present. The Protestants, in 1975, launched a ten-year evangelistic campaign with the goal of reaching ten million members by 1985, the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries to Korea in 1885. With annual increases in membership approaching 15 percent, Protestant leaders currently are confident they will reach their membership goal by 1985.<sup>7</sup>

Of significance in evaluating the political impact of the churches and the Christians in Korea, it should be noted that an increasingly large proportion of these Christians are middle to upper middle class citizens, living mainly in urban areas. Prior to liberation, the Christians lived principally in rural areas and were farmers or other less affluent citizens. It is estimated that between 20 to 25 percent of Seoul's population are now Christians, members of a total of 3,000 churches. The percentage of Christians in other large cities, such as Pusan, Taegu, and Kwangju, exceeds 15 percent of the population, while less than 10 percent of the Koreans in rural areas are Christians.<sup>8</sup> One indication of the increasing role of the Christians in Korea politics in the postliberation period (1948-62) is the fact that 41 percent of the Cabinet ministers, assemblymen and other senior ROK officials were Christians, while only eight percent of the total population during that period were Christians.<sup>9</sup>

The April 1960 student rebellion, which overthrew the 12-year-old government of President Syngman Rhee, illustrates much of the students' and intellectuals' self-perception of their role in Korean politics today. This student uprising also has some interesting parallels to, and some sharp divergences from, the anti-government demonstrations of 1979 and 1980, which will be considered in the next part of this essay. Lee Hahn-been has characterized the April Revolution of 1960 as "a rebellion of the intellectual community against a stagnant political-administrative elite."<sup>10</sup> The students and intellectuals in 1960 found themselves, for the first time since liberation, at the forefront of a truly national uprising, in the tradition of the students and intellectuals in the preliberation struggles against the Japanese.

During the first eight years of the presidency of Dr. Rhee (1948-56), the students and intellectuals did not strongly oppose him, although there was growing criticism of corruption in the

bureaucracy and the police-state methods used to curb opposition to the regime. Rhee had been elected by 72 percent of the popular vote in 1952. But his share of the popular vote dropped to 55 percent in 1956, even though the principal opposition candidate had died of a heart attack before the election. More significantly, Rhee's Vice Presidential candidate, Lee Ki-pung, was defeated by an opposition leader, Chang Myon. In 1953, Rhee's Liberal Party had forced the adoption of a National Security Act by the National Assembly, which the opposition feared would probably be used against them in the 1960 elections.

When Rhee ran for his fourth term in that year, at the age of 85, he again selected Lee Ki-pung as his running mate, even though Lee was suffering from progressive paralysis of his lower limbs (advanced locomotor ataxia).<sup>11</sup> Since Rhee's opposition opponent, Chough Byung-ok, had died a month before the election, Rhee's re-election was more or less assured. But, when wholesale vote-rigging resulted in a tally of 8,844,000 votes for Lee for Vice President, and only 1,844,000 for Chang, the country was stunned. It appeared to the students and intellectuals that the Korean people were being denied their last legal channel for reflecting their views. On election day in the city of Masan, in Kyongsang Namdo, opposition elements were joined by students in demonstrations when they were not allowed to cast their ballots. Seven people were killed, and 72 injured in this riot. Several weeks later, on April 11, a fisherman discovered the body of a Korean high school student with a tear gas shell embedded in his eye.

This discovery inflamed the already smoldering student resentment and frustration over the March elections; and on April 18, Korea University students demonstrated in Seoul, demanding cancellation of the election and the scheduling of a new one. On their way back to their university after the demonstration, the students were attacked by a gang recruited by the government, and many students were injured. News of this attack spread like wildfire among student groups, and tens of thousands of students poured into the streets of Seoul and other Korean cities the next day. As the students marched toward the presidential mansion, intent upon delivering a petition to the President, police fired point-blank into the ranks of the students, killing over 125 and wounding more than a thousand. President Rhee had asserted that the Masan riot was the work of Communist agents,

and his Ministers of Justice and Home Affairs blamed "devilish bands of the Communists" for the disturbances throughout the Republic.<sup>12</sup> A noted civil leader and former Prime Minister under Rhee, Pyun Young-tai, in an open letter to President Rhee printed in the *Hankook Ilbo* on April 22, urged the President to come to grips with the situation in these words:<sup>13</sup> "It is important to grasp the fact that at the back of these tumultuous outbursts there lies a widespread dissatisfaction incurred by the corruption and illegal actions of party politics."

But Rhee continued to refuse to make meaningful concessions to the rising public clamor, despite the fact that his national police force had all but disintegrated and the ROK Army had assumed a neutral stance between the Rhee regime and the public.<sup>14</sup> On April 25, some 250 university professors, after a secret meeting, filed into the streets of Seoul demanding the resignation of President Rhee. The American Secretary of State, Christian A. Herter, had already sent a message to President Rhee on April 19, expressing his government's belief that the demonstrations were "a reflection of public dissatisfaction over the conduct of the recent elections and repressive measures unsuited to a free democracy."<sup>15</sup> After Rhee was told by his Defense Minister and Martial Law Commander on April 26 that further bloodshed would be avoided if he resigned, the President issued a statement saying that he would resign "if the people desire."

The students who led the 1960 uprising which toppled the Rhee regime did not have a distinct, conscious goal of overthrowing or seizing government power. They almost completely lacked any positive leadership or conscious program. After the uprising, they generally went back to their classrooms; and their allies, the intellectuals, were not ready to take the responsibility for the situation they had helped to create. There was little coordination or cooperation between the elements which sparked the uprising (which, once it got started, seemed to have the active or passive support of the people in general) and the Democratic Party leaders who had received an overwhelming mandate from the people in the elections in Summer 1960. The Democratic Party elite was complacent in its position as the only organized force in the aftermath of the rebellion.<sup>16</sup> This new ruling elite failed to give adequate recognition to the external forces that were instrumental in its acquisition of power, in particular the intellectual community.

It was also blind to another large social element that was accumulating a vast amount of power and political awareness, namely, the armed forces.

The 1960 student rebellion clearly reflects the same basic motivations of student participants in almost all of the major Korean student demonstrations of this century. In general, the students have tended to demonstrate for broad goals relating to society as a whole, or for the correction of social, economic, or political injustices. Student action has generally been political in nature, but not for limited or selfish aims. Almost all demonstrations have been directed against the highly centralized government for its real or alleged injustices, corruption, and other shortcomings. The students generally have been motivated by idealism and have a strong sense of mission. They consider themselves "the conscience of the nation" and the "incarnation of the sovereign people," battling for the nation's interests. They are generally strongly nationalistic, and often appear to be prepared to jeopardize their own economic futures in the cause that they have espoused.<sup>17</sup> They look to the intellectuals in Korean society for nurture and support.

### III

Korea has had no traditional military caste, as in Japan; and the military as a group were not highly regarded in Confucian Korea. After liberation in 1945, however, and with increasing pressure from the Communists in North Korea, actions were taken to develop a military force to defend South Korea. The ROK armed forces were greatly expanded during and after the Korean War. With very substantial United States assistance, a strong ROK military force of about 600,000 personnel was developed, including an American-type military educational school system.

President Rhee had shown considerable skill in keeping the ROK military under his close control until the crisis in April 1960, when the military chose to play a neutral role in the popular uprising against the Rhee regime. Unrest again developed in the ROK Army in 1961, and a successful military coup was executed on May 16, 1961, by a group of colonels and lieutenant colonels led by Kim Chong-pil (who had just been fired from the Army for accusing senior officers of corruption), and Kim's

uncle, Major General Park Chung-hee. This marked the transfer of Korean political leadership from civilian to military hands, where for all practical purposes it has remained down to the present day. This successful military takeover did not reflect so much a failure of democracy as it did the tight organization, skillful planning, and speedy action of the coup leaders. In the ensuing days and weeks, the ruling military junta issued a series of decrees, which in general were surprisingly similar to those being issued by President Chun Doo-hwan in the Fall of 1980. "Corrupt" or "unclean" politicians, civil servants, professors, students, intellectuals, newspapermen, military officers, and so on, were arrested, fired, or retired in large numbers.<sup>18</sup> Alarmed by the large size of the college student population in Seoul, the new military regime announced plans to reduce the number of universities and colleges, and to reduce the number of Korean college students by more than half.<sup>19</sup> Fortunately, for the future educational advancement of Korea, this proposal failed as the result of pressure from various elements of Korean society.

The military coup generally frustrated and dismayed the students and intellectuals, whose high hopes for political freedom and the modernization of Korean society appeared to be destroyed again. The students staged a series of demonstrations during the 1960s and 1970s, involving protests against alleged election irregularities, corruption, police brutality, pro-Japanese governmental attitudes, and interference by the government in campus activities.<sup>20</sup> These demonstrations often resulted in the closing of the schools and the arrests of many students. But it was not until the Fall of 1979 that student demonstrations again led to popular insurrections serious enough to pose a threat to the regime. The August 11, 1979, police attack on the New Democratic Party headquarters building in Seoul, reportedly to oust some textile workers who had been laid off by their bankrupt employer and were staging a sit-in, resulted in many casualties and heavily damaged the NDP building. This was followed in September by government efforts to oust Kim Yong-sam, the leader of the NDP, from the National Assembly, allegedly because of remarks he had made in an interview with a *New York Times* correspondent.

It appeared to many Koreans as well as foreigners that the government was trying to stifle any remaining opposition to the Park regime. The NDP had outpolled the government party in the

December 1978 National Assembly elections, which reflected more on the unpopularity of the government than the strength of the NDP. In Pusan, which was Kim's home town, the students staged a demonstration on October 16 against government efforts to oust the NDP leader from the Assembly. The people of Pusan joined in, and soon the situation escalated into an insurrection, with the police going into hiding. Martial law was declared, and the Army was sent in to quell the insurrection. The next day, a similar insurrection erupted in Masan, a nearby port city, and martial law was also declared there. News of this serious situation spread around the country, despite press censorship, and more demonstrations apparently were planned for other cities on October 30. It was in such a crisis situation (reminiscent in some ways of the meeting of ROK military leaders with President Rhee on April 26, 1960, just before his resignation as President) that President Park, on the evening of October 26, 1979, met with three of his closest advisors at an ROK CIA dining hall. The events of that evening are now history, but they do vividly reflect the potential importance of the role of the students in Korean politics, especially when elements of Korean society are driven to a state of desperation in the defense of values and ideals that they revere and consider under unwarranted attack by an oppressive government.

The general consensus in Korea appears to be that the Korean people, including the students, exhibited considerable maturity, sophistication, and restraint in the first several months following President Park's death. It was only after the leaders of the December 12, 1979, coup had raised apprehensions over their possible intention to seize total power and to reorganize the government and society in line with their own preconceptions that the students took to the streets in May 1980. The massive demonstrations in Seoul culminated on May 15, when the students felt that they had been given a commitment to lift martial law and to show therefore ended their demonstrations. But when the news of wholesale arrests on the night of May 17, including the arrest of Kim Dae-jung, reached Cholla Namdo, the students in Kwangju were predictably aroused and took to the streets. From all accounts, the repressive measures taken by several thousand paratroopers, reportedly from the Taegu area, against the unarmed people of Kwangju appeared to have no parallel in modern Korean

history. For months thereafter, the situation in Kwangju remained bitter and tense beneath the surface.<sup>21</sup> The severe sentences handed down by the military courts to outstanding Christian and other civic leaders left scars that will not fade easily.

The Christian churches in the Republic of Korea, whose total membership is currently estimated at about 7.5 million, have a general political orientation which is strongly nationalistic and anticommunist. A substantial number of Christians in the ROK are either refugees or relatives of refugees from communism in the north. The Korean churches have traditionally espoused a policy of separation of church and state, but they have had varying views on the duties and responsibilities of Christians vis-à-vis the society in which they live.

The Christian churches can be divided, in one way or another, into two broad general groupings without regard to their attitudes toward the Korean society and government. The larger grouping, which probably includes more than half of the Korean Christians, is inclined to take a more emotional and evangelistic approach toward religion, with emphasis on otherworldliness and repentance to obtain salvation. These Christians are not nearly as concerned about the social concerns of this world or with social issues as is the other grouping, and they generally had an attitude of tolerance and approval toward the Park Chung-hee regime. They are inclined to contrast their opportunities to carry on their Christian activities in the South with the complete lack of any religious freedom in North Korea.

The other group of Christians, including both Catholics and Protestants, tend to emphasize their Christian responsibilities and concerns about the society in which they live, and to interest themselves in the problems of society in the light of their Christian convictions. With the adoption of the *Yushin* constitution in 1972, and the subsequent enactment of Emergency Decree No. 9 and related decrees (which, in effect, proscribed any criticism of the government), many of these Christians found themselves in confrontation with the Korean authorities. The Christians of Korea have been strong advocates of human rights and justice in their society, and it is estimated that over two thirds of the human rights activists are Catholic and Protestant Christians. Cardinal Stephen Sou Kwan Kim, Archbishop of Seoul, has been a strong advocate of human rights and a critic of government oppression.



In 1979, at a mass at Seoul Cathedral, the Cardinal declared that the government had systematically denied "such human rights as the freedom to express one's conscience, freedom of speech, and freedom to participate in the government."<sup>22</sup> At the forefront of the Korean Protestant human rights movement has been the Korean National Council of Churches' Human Rights Commission. The current NCC chairman is Dr. Kang Won-young, a leading Presbyterian pastor. Dr. Kang, with the help of German Protestants, developed Academy House, as well as a similar center in Suwon, as an institute for Christian and democratic dialogue, and exchange of ideas. Not surprisingly, such centers for free discussion have come under government surveillance, and several members of the staff of the Suwon Center have been arrested as alleged Communists. The Reverend Kim Kwan-suk, the former Executive Secretary of the NCC and now director of the Christian radio broadcasting network, was quoted as saying:<sup>23</sup> "Our human rights struggle has come a long way since 1973. Where it was once ignored because of so many threatening elements, we now have far wider support; in fact, human rights have acquired a new meaning because of economic progress." Two prominent Protestant human rights activists have been sentenced to 20 years in prison; they are the Reverend Moon In-whan, a theologian teaching at the Hankuk Theological Seminary, and Dr. Lee Moon-young, a former director of the Labor Research Institute at Korea University, who was also a leader of the Student Christian Federation. A prominent Catholic layman, the Korean poet Kim Chi-ha, recently smuggled out of jail a defense of his own beliefs, writing in part:<sup>24</sup> "The government constantly asserts that the threat from North Korea is so serious that civil rights are an impermissible luxury. But a corrupt, immoral dictatorship is the greatest spur to communism. What greater argument do the Communists have than that the Park regime's dictatorial rule will never make South Korea secure."

#### IV

In conclusion, several observations concerning the future roles of the students, intellectuals, and Christian human rights activists, and their impact on the political system, appear warranted.

1. The large-scale student demonstrations of May 1980, whether wise or justified or not, were in the pattern of other similar demonstrations in times of past ROK political crises, such as in April 1960.<sup>25</sup> The basic student motivations appeared to be idealistic. The students seemed to be playing their traditional self-appointed role as "the conscience of the nation," aroused to action because they perceived that the fervent hopes of the Korean people for greater political freedom and less government oppression, which had been greatly stimulated by developments since October 26, 1979, were in serious danger of being thwarted.

2. In the past, the ROK Army had generally avoided any serious popular stigma as being the primary instrument through which oppressive regimes were able to enforce their will upon their restless people. In sharp contrast to previous political crises, however, developments following the December 12, 1979, coup which brought Chun Doo-hwan to power, and the Kwangju military rampage of May 1979 have led many Koreans—especially students and intellectuals—to look upon the ROK Army as "the enemy of the people" and the "destroyer of democracy." It appears too soon to try to evaluate the long-range implications of these trends; but they could be extremely important, and deserve continuing observation and evaluation.

3. There are certain stereotyped phrases which have been commonly used (generally quite accurately) to characterize the attitudes of the South Korean people, such as "pro-American" and "strongly anti-Communist." Whatever US government policy has been during the current crisis in Korea, the Chun regime has done everything possible to give the impression that the United States is strongly behind him and approves of his actions. The result has been to stimulate anti-American attitudes among various elements of the Korean population, especially among students and intellectuals. Although the Korean people in general are undoubtedly as strongly anticommunist as ever, the complete disillusionment of many Koreans could stimulate the Communists in the north to greater efforts to try to capitalize upon the situation to promote their objectives in the South.

4. Whether the Chun regime likes it or not, Kim Dae-jung has come to represent to the world in general, and to many Koreans in particular, a symbol of the resistance of the Koreans to government repression. If he had been executed, Korean students and

intellectuals felt that the implications and reactions would have been favorable to the Communists and adverse to long-term ROK national interests. As a martyr, Kim's memory undoubtedly would have become a rallying point for Koreans who oppose the government, and would further alienate many Koreans who are now politically passive.

It appears from the foregoing that a large number of Korean students, intellectuals, and Christian human rights activists are now disillusioned and restless. But they still appear to be imbued with their traditional, almost messianic, sense of mission to end political oppression in the Republic of Korea.

#### NOTES

1. Gregory Henderson, *Korea, The Politics of Vortex* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 199-202. This is an excellent account of the modern history and politics of Korea.

The present essay is based on a paper originally presented at a conference jointly sponsored by the U.S.-Korea Economic Council and the Asia Society in New York on November 19, 1980.

2. Chong-Sik Lee, *The Politics of Korean Nationalism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965). This is probably the best book on the development of modern Korean nationalism.

3. Samuel H. Moffett, "The Independence Movement and the Missionaries" (Seoul: *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch*, vol. 54, 1979), pp. 13-32.

4. Hahn-Been Lee, *Time, Change, and Administration* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1968), p. 46. This book by a former ROK government official and former university president is an outstanding study of governmental and administrative developments in the period 1945-66.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-50.

6. David C. Cole and Princeton N. Lyman, *Korean Development, The Interplay of Politics and Economics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 24. This book includes some excellent discussions of the role of students and intellectuals in the development of Korea in the period 1945-70.

7. Different churches compile their statistics on membership in different ways, and issue revisions at different times. These statistics are a compilation from the best available sources, and are believed to be conservative. One of the best books on the subject is *A History of the Church in Korea*, by Allen D. Clark (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971).

8. *Ibid.*, Dr. Samuel H. Moffett, a United Presbyterian missionary in Korea, is the source of some of these statistics.

9. Cole and Lyman, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

10. Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

11. Robert T. Oliver, *Syngman Rhee and the American Involvement in Korea, 1942-1960* (Seoul: Panmun Book Company, 1978), pp. 478-479.

Oliver served as a public relations man for Syngman Rhee for over 20 years. His conversations with Rhee in 1959 offer revealing insights into the thinking of this senile, 85-year-old man. The tragedy of the situation was that there was an interval of half a century between the time he was the aggressive young reformer in the Independence Club in 1896-98 and time he took over the reins of government. Had Rhee been willing to step down after eight years as President in 1956, the history of the past 25 years would undoubtedly have been very different.

12. John Kie Chiang Oh, *Korea, Democracy on Trial* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 61. This is an interesting account of the struggle for democracy in Korea in the years 1945-53.

13. Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

14. The author of this paper was the faculty advisor and teacher of the late Lieutenant General Song Yo-chan at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., in 1960-61. General Song explained in graphic detail how ROK military leaders discussed the dilemma of whether to support the President or the students and the people, and decided on a neutral course which assured victory for the students.

15. Oh, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

16. Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-143.

17. Edward Reynolds Wright, ed., *Korean Politics in Transition* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1975), pp. 147-151.

18. Oh, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-128; and Henderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-185.

19. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

20. Robert Shaplen, *A Turning Wheel* (New York: Random House, 1979), pp. 259-292.

21. Mike Chinoy, "Is South Korea Tightening Its Screws?" *Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly*, October 27, 1980.

22. *United Methodist Reporter, Circuit West* (Dallas), October 17, 1980, p. 3.

23. Shaplen, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

25. As indicated in note 14, however, the reaction of the ROK Army was very different than in 1960. As indicated below, direct confrontation between the Army and the people is a very traumatic event for both. The confrontation between CIA Chief Kim Jae-kyu and Cha Chi-chul on October 25, 1979, which ended in the assassination of President Park, stemmed from the insurrection of the people in Fusan and Masan on October 16-17, 1979, and heated differences over the proper course of action for the government in such a situation.

January 30, 1967

Dear friends;

The year 1966 has also passed with many problems, which we hoped could be well solved, left unsolved. Those problems which should have been clearly solved have been passed in uncertainty, making us sad. Far away, the war in Vietnam is being carried on still in order to keep freedom and justice from evil power but our hearts ache when we see the continuing sacrifice of many young people. But God has given us this new time and hope, and helped us to know that no one can live in isolation. Especially in 1966, we have come to know this practically through the various international Conferences.

The great change in time and space has brought us new meaning. If someone says that he or she does not mind because some event has arisen in a nation far away from him, he is exposing his ignorance, and if someone is captured by party consciousness and prejudice, and slanders and hates the opposite side he sins and is out-of-date. Now, we live in a world in which we must cooperate with each other before God for the right goal, then it will be a world good to live in. This the Lord Jesus helped us to know through his admonition to love one another.

We have heard that the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches which made the earliest division in the church, are progressing toward reunification. It is our privilege to be able to serve in an interdenominational work at this time.

I want to express my deep appreciation for all your cooperation and prayers.

Sincerely,

Chong Hee Kim Pang  
Chong Hee Kim Pang

Report On Christian Home And Family Life Committee Of The KNCC  
(From January to December, 1966)

In the January Issue of "Christian Home" magazine I made a Ten-year Report on the Christian Home and Family Life Movement in Korea. I sent about one hundred copies of that report written in English to friends in America and Missionaries in Korea.

Family Week

Family Week was observed from May 1 to 8, 1966. We made 5,000 posters and a similar number of Family Week Programs and distributed them to 7 Local Committees: 1 Presbyterial, 2 Ministers' monthly meetings, 3 Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, the boards of different denominations, 10 Christian Colleges, 70 churches, and all other Christian Institutes.

Local Committees

During the year we had five local training conferences: one in Choon Chun, one in Taegu, one in Pusan, one in Taejon, and one in Chung Ju.

Choon Chun Committee: The Choon Chun Conference on the theme of "Responsible Christian Parenthood" (speaker - Dr. Deuk Youl Kin) took place from April 18 to 20, with an average of about one hundred attending. Other topics of speeches and the speakers: Family Life and Children's Education, Juvenile Delinquency and Guidance, Parent's Attitude Toward Children and The Goal for Children's Education. (Mr. Chu Sik Ham) The History of the Family Life Movement, Christian Tradition and Family Life and How Can the Family Life Movement Be Carried On. (Mrs. Chong Hee Kim Pang) The following topics were discussed by the participants: For what reasons is the bridge of dialogue between parents and children cut? Husband and wife relationship, The relationship of neighbours. Several churches observed Family Week. The chairman of the Choon Chun Committee is Mr. Young Hi Shyn.

Pusan Committee: The Pusan Conference was held on the theme of "A Christian's Growth" from May 5 to 6 with an average attendance of about a hundred and fifty. Tong Gu Girls' High School Choir cooperated in this conference. The chairman is Rev. Kee Yun In.

Taegu Committee: The Taegu Conference pinpointing "The Importance of Education in the Home" was held from 6 to 7 of May. An average of forty people attended this conference. Mr. George Worth is the chairman.

Taejon Committee: The Taejon Conference took place from Oct. 3 to 4. The key note speech was on "The Family with the Lord" by Rev. Ho Un Lee. The Report of the lectures on the World Methodist Family Life Conference which was held in England and a

"Relationship between Husband and Wife" by Mrs. Chong Hee Kin Pang, "Child Guidance" by Mrs. Sun Hi Lee, and "Youth and Adolescence" by Mr. Suk Whan Cho. The attendance was about 94 and an interdenominational worship service was held. As a special program for Family Week prizes were given to the twelve families who exemplified Christian family life. The chairman is Rev. Chong Man Park.

Chung Ju Committee: The Chung Ju Committee had a small group of leadership conferences from March 21 to 22. The topics of the lectures the "History of and the need for the Family Life Movement", "What the Families expect from the church". The chairman is Tae Sik Whang. The lectures were followed by discussions on "How can high school students be encouraged to attend church services?", "How can young people be prepared for marriage and helped in the selection of a mate", "A wholesome sex education program", "How can the family encourage the growth in Christian faith of those who are on the front lines or who are studying in places far from home",

An Dong Committee: This Committee worked hard to distribute the Family Week Posters and the programs in their area.

Seoul Committee: This Committee is planning to have a conference before spring.

### Counsolling Service

The Family Counselling Center was started in February 1966 in a room borrowed from the Chong-kyo Methodist Church. Ten specialists in the fields of counselling have been helping in the work.

Out of 66 cases 17 were for legal advice, 16 were for family counselling, 4 for marriage counselling, 5 were for neurotics, 11 were for mentally ill, 3 were for children's problem, and 5 were for job applicants. There were five other cases. Six people specially thanked us for the great help they had received through the Counselling Center to solve their family problems.

### Speeches and Reports

I (the secretary of the Christian Home and Family Life Committee of the KNCC) made speeches and reports to about 2,775 at eight churches, two colleges, three local committees, six different church women's conferences, a fellowship meeting of interdenominational women leaders, a conference of the workers in the factories, The Korean Church in Washington and the women's society meetings, the YWCA Board Meeting, The consultation on cooperation of men and women of EACC, a Sunday School Group in Pasadena and The Korean Church in Honolulu, the Women's Society Meeting, and the Korean Church in New York.

I attended the EACC Women's Conference from July 15 to 26 and the consultation on cooperation of men and women from July 27 at the International Christian University in Tokyo, Japan. Then I had

a chance to visit Israel, Italy, Switzerland, France, West Germany and Denmark between the time of the conferences in Japan and the World Methodist Family Life Conference in Birmingham, and World Methodist Conference in London.

I learned <sup>much</sup> and got many <sup>new</sup> ideas from these conferences and from visiting the several countries. I thank God for the wonderful opportunity and I am so grateful to Bishop Werner and to the World Family Life Committee and the World Methodist Council - especially to the American section for their help which made our trip to the conference possible

After the last conference, I visited the Korean churches in Washington and New York and in Honolulu to encourage and increase the numbers of our subscribers and to report to them on the conferences.

### Special Meetings

We held a Church Women Leaders' Fellowship Meeting in order to express our appreciation to the distributors of our magazine, and to make the women leaders understand the purpose of the magazine so that they can get more subscribers. Two hundred and eighty women leaders from 48 churches attended, we got over 200 new subscribers through them.

We also had a Round-table talk on improving the educational system of our country, and another on the Danish way of life and how they became rich.

### Contents of "Christian Home" Magazine (January - December, 1966)

31 Poems	3 Testimonials of Christian Life
11 Sermons	9 Articles on Other Countries
17 Articles on Improving Life in General	7 Articles on National and Social Problems
22 Reports of International meetings	16 Articles from Teaching Experiences
10 Articles on Home and Family Life	10 Illustrations of Korean History
10 Articles on Marriage and Youth	6 Articles on Introducing Groups and Individuals
13 Articles on Child Education	6 Interviews
12 Essays	12 Cartoons
11 Bible Meditations	1 Article on Science
2 Articles on Economic Problems	2 Articles on Home life in other Countries
17 Stories and Songs for Children	9 Cooking Classes
8 Articles on Current World Affairs	10 English Articles
	11 Problems of Home and Family Life Committee



4 Continued Stories	10 Guidances for Parents
1 Article on the Lay Movement	3 Book Reviews
4 Articles on Home Management	10 Articles on Well-Educated Life
9 Articles on Health and Hygiene	2 Reports of Round-table Talks
	1 Suggestion on Having a Side-Line job

#### Copies of the Magazine Given as Gift

TO:	Copies	TO:	Copies
10 Hospitals	1,547	7 Prisons	3,282
23 Literacy Groups	1,058	12 Frontline Visits	2,901
14 Evangelical Visits	1,032	1 Factory	450
21 Foreign Countries	231	21 Libraries	286
5 Government Offices	132	4 Orphanages	58
1 YWCA Girl's Home	110	11 Denominational	
19 Journalists	275	Headquarters	132
5 New Couples		5 Publishing Houses	99
(Wedding Presents)	45		
325 Writers	325	15 Individuals	162
	<u>Total Copies</u>		<u>12,125</u>

#### Special Guests

In June we had a welcome-tea for Miss Clara Howard who is one of the founders of this Home and Family Life Movement, and the first chairman of the Family Life Committee. She was honoured with a doctorate by Ewha Woman's University. We were so happy to see her again.

Dr. Merwin from Asia Dept. Division of Overseas Ministries National Council of Churches in America visited us (June 1 - 9). It was so nice to see him and to consult with him about our work.

Dr. Henry G. Bovenkerk from World Lit-Lit visited us in September and discussed the promotion of the "Christian Home" Magazine.

#### Readers' Letters

We have been encouraged by the response of our readers:  
 "I have been reading 'Christian Home' for ten years here in prison without knowing who sends it to us. I did not pay a penny for it, but the magazines were given to me. This magazine helped me to be a Christian. I am sending an article to you hoping this may be a little token of my thanks for your magazine."

I am not expecting any fee for my writing."

February 19, 1966

Wu-man Dong, Suwen, Korea

Hak Won Lee

"I have been reading your magazine. It has many good articles that refresh and fill my soul with the abundant grace of God. I want you to send your magazine to my brother and my parents at home, too, for I want to share this good magazine with my family.

March of 1966

From Vietnam

"I appreciate your labor for your magazine, 'Christian Home'. We are living within the sound of dashing waves of the sea. Your magazine is not only our guide to faith in Christ but is also a really good friend who teaches us many good things. I especially enjoyed the December Issue. Would you please let us read more about witness of faith in Christ, special experiences of achieving life? We will appreciate if you keep sending your magazine to us".

March 14, 1966

Chin-hae Fleet

Dong Ho Cho

"You may not realize how good a friend your magazine is to us. It is not so fancy or gorgeous as other popular magazines, but its contents are always creative and educational. And its effort to spread the Gospel to the homes which are the base of our society has been characteristic of the magazine. The pure and precious quality of the 'Christian Home' magazine is the very thing that our society should treasure all the time. As our Lord said about heaven, 'Christian Home' has to be spread deep into the hearts of hopeless individuals, into the homes and society in order to lead the people to God."

March 18, 1966

Library of Chil-kok Hospital

Shin Ah Kim

"I am one of the men imprisoned in Yuk-kak Army Prison at Nam-han Castle. When I was put into a room with terrible loneliness, anxiety, and despair, I found your 'Christian Home' magazine with its pretty cover. Unintentionally I took it and began to read page by page. While I was going on reading it I gradually felt warmth and stability come into my heart. Now 'Christian Home' magazine is the only friend who enriches my soul and heart so that I also can pray for others instead of being as selfish as I was before. Because of your 'Christian Home' magazine I became a returned 'prodigal son' to God, and one whose heart is filled with peace from Jesus Christ. From my own experience,

now I can tell anybody that 'Christian Home' magazine is a cradle to all."

May, 1966  
 Cho, Kyung Ill  
 Nam-han-san Castle Army Prison

"I am writing you from the city of Saigon whose streets are now quiet for a while having an interval in the fighting.

I knew that your 'Christian Home' magazine is a good magazine not only for Christians but also for non-Christians with its good articles of high quality. I myself wanted to read it but could not get hold of it. Today I received an unexpected gift, 'Christian Home' magazine from a lady named Mrs. Younz Hee Choi Hong whom I do not know at all. I just can not be still without writing my thanks to you and to the lady who bought the magazine for me. I think I am lucky to be given your magazine by Mrs. Hong, for there are many soldiers who want good reading material and yet have no chance for them in this limited war-field. When we happen to have something to read - newspaper or magazine - we almost make a fuss trying to be the first to read. I am going to share this magazine with others, but if possible, please send us some more for my comrades who are hungry for them. We need your prayers, too."

Nov. 27, 1966

Byung Kyu Park  
 LST 809  
 Baik-ku Corps, Vietnam

"Wandering the back-streets of life I committed sin and am now a prisoner. I am so glad to have a chance to read 'Cristian Home' magazine. Actually I await your magazine more than the letters from my home. It gives me joy and moves me a lot ....I thank God for this and thank you, too.

'If I had such a home as this magazine shows earlier I would not be here.', said one of the fellows here. There are no nations or societies that are not based on a home which is the standard of the value of its are. 'Christian Home' magazine is really sowing the seed of hope for a good Christian home in the hearts of those who are preparing for their new good homes."

MMay, 1966  
 In Soo Lee  
 Army Prison

"Thank you for your 'Christian Home' magazine. I do appreciate your labor for the magazine.

I want to let you know that your magazine 'Christian Home' has been giving a lot of joy and hope. Especially 'a Never Despairing Home' in the October Issue taught me a lot. I do sincerely hope that this healthy and good quality 'Christian Home' may go into every heart and home of our nation.

May God bless 'Christian Home' ever more!

October 11, 1966

Mrs. Yun Hoo Cha

Chin-hai

"It is getting cold. I think of your labor to issue such a good magazine 'Christian Home'. We have many patients who read and wait for your magazine that pours hope and the meaning of life into their weakened hearts. They are trying their best for a good life guided by 'Christian Home' magazine.

God bless each of you!"

December 5, 1966

Chong Sung Eun

Marine Clinic

"Dear Editor;

I am a Christian and a teacher at a university in Seoul. At home we have been reading the 'Christian Home' magazine for many years. We have enjoyed very much the article 'How shall we celebrate Christmas at church?' in December Issue. We wish to read more things like this about our churches. Also we loved the cover, too. Whenever we open 'Christian Home', I as an educator, want more pages of cartoons that are good emotional growth of the children, and also are related to Christian life. This time we found a new cartoon 'Happy Home' by Lee, Dong, that combined the children's way of thinking and family life. We had a very good time smiling happily all together, enjoying the cartoon. If possible, please spare some more space for such good cartoons."

December 15, 1966

Kin

Pil-dong, Seoul

Mrs. Chong Hoo Kin Pang  
Executive Secretary of Home & Family Life  
Committee<sup>KNCC</sup> and Editor of 'Christian Home'

Mrs. James Moore  
Associate Secretary  
Christian Home & Family Life Committee,  
The KNCC

Magazine Committee OfficersOperating Committee

Chairman: Mrs. Ok In Noh  
 Mrs. Syn Duk Lee

Secretary: Mrs. Won Young Kang  
 Mrs. Robert Sauer

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 Rev. Yong Chul Chung  
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 Miss Koi Sun Kin  
 Mr. Se Min Oh

한기련 가정생활 위원회·새가정사  
CHRISTIAN HOME & FAMILY LIFE COMM., KNCC  
MONTHLY CHRISTIAN HOME

84-9 CHONGNO 2KA, CHONGNO KU, SEOUL, KOREA

Tel. 74-0697  
Room 310, 410

P. O. Box 420  
Kwang Wha Moon  
Seoul, Korea

July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1967

Dear friends :

The time has gone so fast, no one can  
catch it ;

Our hearts ache for the many lives which are  
being sacrificed in the Vietnam War and another  
war in Palestine !

Oh, how we want peace all over the world !

But the fundamental thing is to grow peace  
in each of our hearts !

I am sending you a report for six months of  
1967 hoping you will read it when you have time.

I deeply appreciate all your cooperation and  
prayers.

Sincerely

*Chong Hee K. Pang*

Chong Hee K. Pang

Executive secretary

Home and Family Life

Committee K N C C

Report of the Christian Home and Family Life Committee  
K N C C (January-- June ' 1967 )

Family Week

The Twelveth Annual Family Week was observed. The thome was "To create a new ago from Christian Home " from May 7 to 14th.

We made five thousand copies of the poster and program and distributed them to 7 local committees, 9 denominational headquarters, 29 Christian schools, 182 churches, 2 Annual Conferences of the methodist church, 4 different ministers, meetings 3 different women's district conferences, The National Women's Missionary Society of the methodist church and 7 Christian institutes.

The announcement for Family Week was given through the Christian Papor, H L K Y and T V .

Local Committees

An Dong Committee had a special service on May seventh at the Lahk Dong riverside. There were 1,200 attendants in the morning. Mr. Chu Sik Hahm spoke on "Children's yesterday, today and tomorrow". In the evening, an interdenominational service was held and Mr. Hahm spoke on " To creat a new ago from the Christian Homo". Nino hundred people attendod.

The Pusan Committee, had a two-day Conference from May 7 to 8.

Speakers were Mrs. Chong Sun Yun Kim and Dr. Deuk Yul Kim .

Subjects were "To Create a New age from the Christian Home" and " What is a Christian Home " ? About one hundred & twenty people attended.

The Cheon Chun Committee, had a two-day Conference May 28-29 .

One hundred and fifty attended.

The speakers were Mrs. Chong Sun Yun Kim & Rev. Duk Hyun Cho.

Their subjects were " How to Start Christian Family Life movement", "What is a Christian Home ", " The Meaning of a Christian Home " and "What is the Mission of a Christian Home " .

The Daejon Committee , had a union service with six denominations participating on May 11th.

Two hundred sixteen people attended from 23 churches and eleven model families were given prizes.

Mrs. Chong Sun Yun Kim gave speech on "What is a Christian Home". Slides were shown, a puppet show was given and family songs were sung.

The Seoul Committee , held meetings in three different areas.

Mrs. Chong Sun Yun Kim and Dr. Deuk Yul Kim spoke and one hundred sixteen people attended.



Family Counselling Center

Out of 52 cases, 11 were for family counselling, 9 were for legal advice, 5 were regarding the mentally ill, 12 were for job applicants, 5 were for marriage counselling, 3 were for neurotics, 3 needed counselling for children's problems and there were 6 other cases.

One thousand eighty-seven copies of the magazine were sent to the Korean soldiers in Vietnam from 51 individual donors and 7 different groups.

Four thousand forty-nine copies were given to the prisons, hospitals, frontlines and orphanages.

We are encouraged by readers' letters as follows;

" I wait for this magazine every month.

It is more interesting than any other magazine." Jan. 1967

One catholic woman

" I found again something I had lost from reading the Christian Home magazine".

- a discharged soldier, Jan. 14th 1967-

Jan. 17th, 1967

"Dear friends of Christian Home;

Reading is best thing for all of us here because we are on the ship always. Christian Home takes first place in our reading. Truly, it is helpful to us, Christian Home is food for our minds and strength for our spirits."

Yong Kiel Choi

Jin Hae Fleet

January 31st, 1967

" Preconception is a terrible thing, I don't know why but I despised 'Christian Home ' and thought that was not worth reading but one night, I found my child was reading this magazine and not studying his text books. So I took it from him and read it from cover to cover until 1:30 in the night. I am writing this letter to apologize you and to tell you that I found its' contents are very good and helpful for our everyday life. It is very interesting.

(Mrs.) Young San Oh

June 14th. 1967

"Thank you for the magazine Christian Home" which you sent us. We distributed them to the whole detachment and the good contents became spiritual food for those who are already Christian.

Also it helped the non Christians to become Christians"

White Horse Corp Vietnam

Mrs. Chong Sun Yun Kim one of the delegates to the World Family Life Conference in England in 1966, came back in February. Later she studied one term in Chicago University. She worked hard as soon as she got back. She has made speeches at twelve different places on "Home & Family Life" to 1,033 people.

### Secretary's report and speeches.

I gave speeches and reports to 2,790 people at five churches, ten different meetings and a girl's high school.

I wrote five articles for "Christian Home" and a Christian Paper.

I distributed three hundred Korean copies and one hundred English copies of the report for 1966 on our work .

### Meetings

We have held twenty committee meetings for the magazine and other programs for the family life movement .

Also I attended fifteen meetings of six different organizations, including the Y W C A., United Church Women, and World day of Prayer Committee Meeting etc.

# Choice From Weeklies

## The Sad Lot of Japan's Korean Residents

By KYOKO BABA

Koreans can now read a biography of Madame Irene Joliot-Curie but still cannot become a Madame Curie—as long as they live in Japan.

This is the conclusion of writer Ken Kaiko's "Sad Koreans in Japan" appearing in Weekly Asahi (June 19). Unfortunately this story also reveals an annoying fact: Japanese stubbornly refuse to admit that they are racially prejudiced against Koreans as well as other races. Perhaps Oriental people are so color-conscious that mutual prejudice among the yellow groups cannot be accepted consciously as racial bias.

This 34-year-old writer points out the sad lives Korean Issei (the first generation) and Nisei (second generation) are leading in Japan. But he doesn't mention or even hint at the expression jinshuteki henken (racial prejudice). Instead, he stresses that although it is Japan and the Japanese that have caused the Koreans such misery, it is mainly Government policies and partly Japanese people's indifference toward Korea and Koreans that should be blamed for the situation.

The writer says that Koreans in Japan were forbidden to read such books as "The Biography of Madame Curie" before and during the war. The Government then feared that this sort of thing might stir up intellectual Koreans' patriotism for their colonized nation.

Writer Kaiko says he became "restless" after talking to the Koreans who live in poverty in Tokyo's Koto and Adachi wards. He has learned many things about these Koreans. First, Koreans cannot obtain a job from Japanese companies even if they graduate from a Japanese university. For example, a Meiji University graduate is working as a barber at his mother's shop and his two elder brothers, also university graduates, are making their living as truck drivers. A Korean who graduates from Tokyo University with a brilliant school record cannot become even an assistant professor even if he can continue his study at a university research institute. The majority of Korean Nisei, including those with university diplomas are working as day laborers or ragpickers.

Said Ken Rhee who majored in the Economics Department of Tokyo University: "Korean Nisei psychology is complicated. They were born in Japan, brought up in Japan and so can speak and write Korean very little. They've only heard about their mother country from their parents. They feel, think and act exactly like the Japanese! Yet they cannot go into Japanese society. The empty feeling that they are neither Japanese nor Korean always haunts them. They are like rootless grass. This helps foster nihilism and decadence in them. I myself cannot make up my mind whether I should become a strong nationalist or assimilate myself into the Japanese people. In fact, I am powerless even if I am told to assimilate myself into Japan. The Japanese won't let me do so."

The young man told the writer that he's thinking of going to the U.S. He said he cannot help it even if he should be criticized bitterly for escaping from the reality in Japan and South Korea. He is "too tired to think now."

Although the majority of Korean Issei are from South Korea, nearly 450,000 of the 600,000 Koreans in Japan want to go to North Korea. It's not for political reasons. As they know they can't make a living in South Korea, they want to try their luck in the north. They

are appealing to the Japanese Government to make efforts to open free traffic to and from North Korea.

The writer says that United Nations Charter and the international laws advocate this sort of relation among nations of the world. And the "majority" of the Japanese individually agreed and signed a petition to realize the wishes of the Koreans.

"But the Japanese Government stubbornly has closed the door to North Korea," he said. "In the meantime, the Japanese Government allows Chinese to come and go to Mainland China with the Japan Red Cross Society acting as their guarantee."

He bitterly criticized the Japanese Government leaders for respecting big countries but not little ones. According to him, the Government alone seems to be responsible for the fact that even Korean graduates of Tokyo University cannot obtain a job from a Japanese company, that Koreans cannot become a beneficiary of the national health insurance policy, that they cannot get bank loans and that they are not qualified to live in inexpensive, yet comfortable, Public Housing Corporation apartments.

However, Koreans must pay taxes like the Japanese.

Why do the Japanese let the Government torment the Koreans so?

That's because, writer Kaiko says, the majority of the Japanese are "indifferent" toward Koreans. "Ninety-five out of every 100 Japanese have no contact with Koreans. They don't know anything about Korea. They are almost indifferent. Hearing the situation from Koreans, they are surprised, upset and ashamed of it, for the first time, and then hurriedly sign a petition asking for free traffic between Japan and North Korea. Individually, the majority of us have always been filled with sympathy which is based on goodwill, understanding and intellectual instinct. We sign, donate, lower our heads and rail at the Government. However, we do nothing about it in reality."

But why?

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U.S. Expert Says

# Seoul Urbanization Needs Segregation

By Ahn Jung-hyo

"What the urbanization in Seoul needs most now is segregation," said Herbert D. White, associate director of the Institute of Urban Studies and Development. "Instead of geographical expansion, this city must be segregated into independent, separate minor communities first to alleviate various urban agonies this city is suffering at present."

Seoul does not need satellite cities yet, he said. Instead, the present vast metropolitan area must be divided by a meticulous city project in which the smaller-sized unit communities can be operated independently.

"The segregation must be carried out in such a way that the individual community must be provided sufficient population, industrial and educational facilities, capacity of employment, electricity, communications and other means so that each community can operate by itself," White said.

He suggested all the city functions be decentralized effectively through elaborate control by provincial government so that the segregated population can work and live in their own community, saved from the troubles of coming to work to the downtown district and going back to the remote residential areas to spend the rest of the day.

"Decentralization of the population only will increase traffic problems as long as business functions are centralized," he said. "This segregation will promote better land use and help prevent deterioration of slum problems, crimes and deformation of a growing city."

He pointed out that expanding roads or building elevated highways are short-sighted plans, because a modern city tends to shrink down as people come to prefer to live in, instead of a monstrously huge city, a small community with narrow streets.

"The city projects in the United States, for instance, tend to attract the population by providing smaller communities where they can buy cigarettes and do shopping from the little stores next to the residential homes, go to a movie by walk, and dine at a restaurant on the same streets," White explained.

He said Seoul already have all these requirements for segregating the city. Instead of building the city to a vast, empty industrial or business area and then trying to return it to a livable community, Seoul can take the short-cut to segregation, he said.



Herbert White

"People will come to miss the human living conditions of small communities," he said. "They will hate the inhuman mammoth city complex and want separate, little organisms in which they can spend their lifetime."

For better land use and accommodation of a denser population in such segregated societies, White suggested tall buildings and apartments. He said these divided independent communities can solve the problems of traffic congestion and shortage of traffic means, when the bus will not need to shuttle back and forth long blocks as present Seoul buses do.

"Stockholm is one example of an efficient solution of traffic problems," White said. "They did not expand the roads for faster flow of the traffics. Instead, they established segregated satellite zone with a thoughtfully distributed population, employment capacity and transportation means."

"Seoul is giving too much emphasis on building things and roads while the number of people possessing private cars is less than 0.1 percent of the whole population," White pointed out. "In terms of priority, construction of streets should come later as long as this city faces the massive problem of survival."

Geographical discrimination in the city projects also paralyzes balanced growth of the city and possible future segregation of the metropolis, he said.

"At many places in Seoul, for example, water service is very good at this side of a hill while there is no pipeline at the other," he said. "This discrimination will only increase unbalance of the city. It is like a cup of milk in which you can find many lumps of clotted dry milk in the water."

## Stewart II British Reints In Viet Pe

MADRAS, India (UPI) — British Foreign Secretary Stewart said Saturday in Britain, as co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, "later" hoped to play a "part" in the attempts to bring a Vietnam settlement. But for the present, Stewart said, the Paris talks must proceed on their own terms with the parties.

Stewart, who is on a special visit to India, made remarks at a news conference. Referring to the withdrawal of British troops in 1971, Stewart said, "We are going to concentrate on the continent to win Europe."

Stewart added that the withdrawal does not mean a loss of British influence in other parts of the world. "We are taking our general concern for our general interest in the Suez for circulation might arise just that capability of the judge of the

## Taiwan Wins Miss Asia

MANILA — A three-year-old, beautifully beautiful sales promoter, Sunday Miss Asia beauty pageant.

Miss Shih, 25, from Taipei, won over 13 other contestants from as far as down south in the sea.

Miss Stiles, a 35-22-35 pin-up New South first runner-up.

Miss Jane, 20-year-old, won second followed by Jane de third runner-up from Thailand, 19, (34-27).

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## ANNOUNCEMENT

### Compassion Executives Confer in Tokyo

*Korea Herald  
Jan. 30, '68*

Edward A. Kimball, business administrator of Compassion, Inc., and a former insurance man, has not fled with the voluntary agency's money, as locally reported.

Rev. Robert C. Morgan, director of Compassion's Christian Education program, has verified that Kimball left for Japan Wednesday with a return visa dated for Jan. 24 and a round-trip plane ticket. The purpose of the trip is to confer with Compassion's President Henry Harvey, who ordered Kimball to leave for Tokyo, and with Dr. Gustav Hemwall, chairman of Compassion's Board of Directors.

Rev. Morgan denied local reports that Kimball embezzled any amount of money and fled the country. Some have charged that Kimball took 30 million won but Rev. Morgan said Compassion has 30 million won set aside as an educational fund deposited in the Sogong-

dong branch office of the Hanil Bank in Seoul. This money remains on deposit at the bank.

Compassion, with headquarters in Chicago, has some 18,000 sponsors who help 22,000 orphans in 169 institutions. Mr. Kimball came to Korea in May of 1966, giving up a profitable insurance business in order to help Korea's needy orphans and serve the Lord Jesus Christ.

In the past few weeks, the voluntary agency has been under investigation by the Seoul Police because of charges of alleged misuse of funds. Because of this, Kimball went to Tokyo to confer with President Harvey and Compassion's chairman of the Board of Directors, Dr. Gustav Hemwall.

Compassion's executives are due to arrive in Seoul within the next few days to continue working toward a solution of these current problems.

for future help Negro entrance in white housing project expected to provide 200 new dwelling units within about a year.

Jim Kalas, director of extension for the college, added that plans are underway to add an institute to  
(Continued on Page 3)

paper and the Methodist Church Asia (India).

The most recently enacted measure, called the "Religious Freedom Bill" and passed by the Madhya

means," and of women under 18.

APPROACH - Vol. II, No. 39, Nov. 4, 1968

## Noodle Factory Looms as Investment

By HAL LEE  
Of the Approach Staff

NEW YORK — The search for a positive way for the church to invest its funds has led to the Emerging Economies Corp. (EEO).

A. Eugene Adams, who formerly was in COEMAR's Office of Special Gifts, is the president of the emerging corporation.

"Just as many church groups here in America have been investing their funds in businesses in the ghettos, we are going to invest money in developing countries," Adams explained.

The model project is Korea.

Adams said this country was picked, frankly, because Koreans welcome Americans.

The company will begin by investing in two businesses in Korea,

a tire-recapping company and an instant noodle factory.

"We believe both of these can be successful business projects," Adams said.

He indicated that EEO will pick businesses where the level of living for the people involved can be raised.

"Where needed, we will find technical help; but we will not put in management or buy controlling interest in a business," he said. "Our job will be one of support."

### PLANNING A COFFEE HOUSE?

NEW YORK — A quarterly Coffee House Newsletter is published here by the Coffee Information Service, 300 E. 44th st., N.Y. 10017. It offers recipes, ideas, posters and other aids.

The goal for EEO is to be able to sell stock in this country, so that "a community of people in America can become directly involved and interested in development-investments in other countries."

Right now, EEO is waiting for the Securities Exchange Commission to approve their proposal. Korea will be only the first country where investments will be made.

"We will invest a million and a quarter there," Adams said. The company now has \$5 million in capital and hopes to get more quickly.

Prior to employment with COEMAR, Adams was an assistant vice president of First National City Bank. He worked in development projects for the bank.

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The plan is to use \$40 m.  
in the claim fund and \$23.  
billion in loans, which total  
\$634 million.

The plenary session agree  
recess today to promote the  
liberations of bills now pendin  
in the standing committees.



Korea Times Photo  
With the backdrop of Santa Claus at a Seoul depart-  
ment store a soldier of the Salvation Army yesterday  
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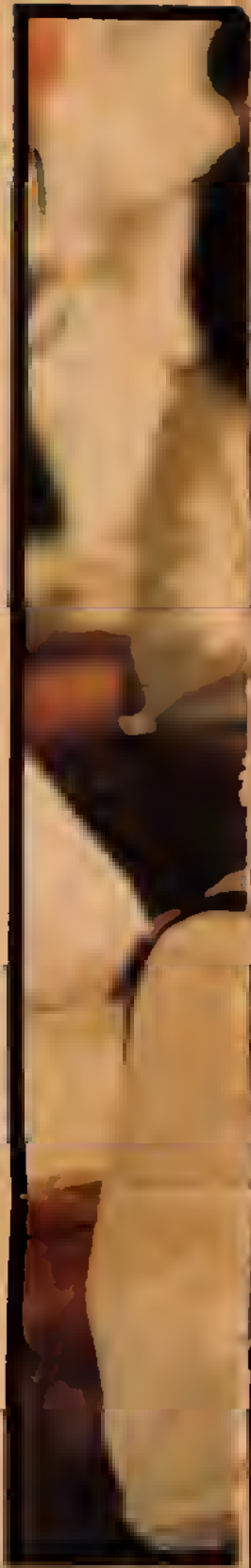
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THE LOT of 600,000 Koreans living in Japan today is far from happy. Scorned and despised by the large majority of the society in which they have made their homes, most live in ghettos within run-down urban slums, eking out a hand-to-mouth subsistence with menial work. Some have risen above the rest, and run *pachinko* parlours, girlie joints or restaurants. A select few have made the grade as business and industrial magnates. On the whole, however, racial discrimination over the last six decades has reduced them into a community of second-class citizens, with few of the rights and privileges accorded other *gaijin*. Since repatriation is difficult, assimilation appears the only solution to a complex situation. But until prejudice and suspicion on both sides die down, Japan's "Negro" problem will be a thorn in the nation's side.

*continued*

Photographed by TAKESHI TAKAHARA

FEATURE OF THE WEEK

# JAPAN'S 'NEGRO' PROBLEM

Teenaged dye-factory worker Hon Ti Iru (top) lives and works in Yokohama suburbs, earning a monthly salary of US\$67. Kim Yong Su (right), a 21-year-old high-school graduate, does a complicated job of mixing dyes in factory.





Classroom in the Republic of Korea Educational Institute (left) has 611 Korean students. Nippongo is the medium of instruction, but six hours a week is devoted to the study of Korean language.

Maruyama-cho (below), a small Korean village in the suburbs of Kobe, is a cluster of wooden huts built at the foot of a hillside. The village derives its main source of income from breeding pigs.



Kim Yoo Ha, a graduate of Waseda University (left, with family), operates a hotel, a pachinko parlour, a dance hall and a beauty parlour in Yokohama.



Clustered on the banks of a re-use-clogged stream in downtown Kobe are ramshackle wooden huts (above), home to most of the city's Korean community.

## Exiles' long struggle for acceptance in adopted land

### JAPAN'S NEGROES *continued*

**K**IM HI RO's live-day stand against a police posse in an inn south of Tokyo last February spectacularly brought to light a social ill many Japanese like to pretend does not exist in their land: racial prejudice.

For Kim — who shot dead two rival gangsters in a dance hall, then armed himself with a shotgun, 422 rounds of ammunition, 60 sticks of dynamite and 19 terrified hostages, called up the police and told them to come and get him — is a Korean.

As such, in the eyes of many Japanese, he is as much an undesirable *gaijin* — foreigner — as the American Negro is in the deepest south of the United States. Kim in fact told millions of fascinated newspaper readers and TV viewers during his desperate hours, at the end of which he intended to kill himself, that he was motivated solely by a desire "to avenge harsh and inhuman treatment" he had received as a boy.

"I was called 'you damned Korean' too often in my youth," he told reporters he received while he held off police who tried to

get him to surrender. "The idea that I was racially discriminated against has never left my mind."

Kim's method of getting his message across, bizarre and tinged with hysteria as it was, turned the glare of publicity on a social situation that, in less than six decades, has become a sore on the face of Japan.

KOREANS LIVING in Japan today number some 600,000 — a minute 0.6 of the total population — scattered in small groups throughout the country. Some run *pa-chinko* parlours, girlie joints and restaurants. A very select few have established themselves as business magnates and industrialists: one Korean owns *Lotte*, Japan's biggest chewing-gum producer; another heads the sprawling Sakomoto textile complex. Most, however, live in run-down city slums, eking out a meagre subsistence as labourers, waiters, domestics and other menial jobs. Some, like Kim Hi Ro, are gangsters.

Few Japanese deny that patent discrimination exists. Most Koreans have no legal status at all, since Japan is one of a few countries in the world that confer

citizenship by blood only and not as a birthright. Often, the Japan-born Korean finds himself stateless. Kim Hi Ro discovered, after being captured by police posing as newsmen, that the Justice Ministry was processing an order to deport him. Although he was born and bred in Japan, Kim's only birthright privilege had been a permanent residence permit — which was revoked and replaced by a temporary visa after a robbery conviction in 1958.

KOREANS in Japan find it virtually impossible to rise to top jobs in industry or the professions. Law students, even after graduation from Japanese universities, are excluded from bar-entrance examinations. The field for Korean intellectuals is severely limited. Not a single Japanese university offers subjects on Korea. There is not one Korean working journalist in all of Japan's hundreds of newspapers and magazines. Intermarriage — despite physical similarities between Japanese and Koreans — is rare, and couples who defy this stricture face ostracism in Japanese society. Increasing numbers of Japan-born Koreans — much like the American Negro who attempts to escape discrimination by bleaching his skin and straightening his hair — seek to "cross the line" by giving themselves Japanese names and fictitious ethnic identities.

THE STORY of Japan's Korean minority is not a particularly happy one. It begins on July 6, 1909, when Japan, on the threshold of its imperial ambitions, decided to annex neighbouring Korea as an integral part of the nation. Prior to this date, according to a 1904 registration, there had been only 227 Koreans resident in the country.

To its credit, when annexation was completed in 1910, Japan did much to develop Korea economically, and substantially raised the Koreans' standard of living. But any benefits Koreans derived from this was strictly incidental. All Japanese development and improvement measures were planned as a direct extension of the homeland economy.

Practically nothing was accomplished to enable Korea to stand on its own eventually.

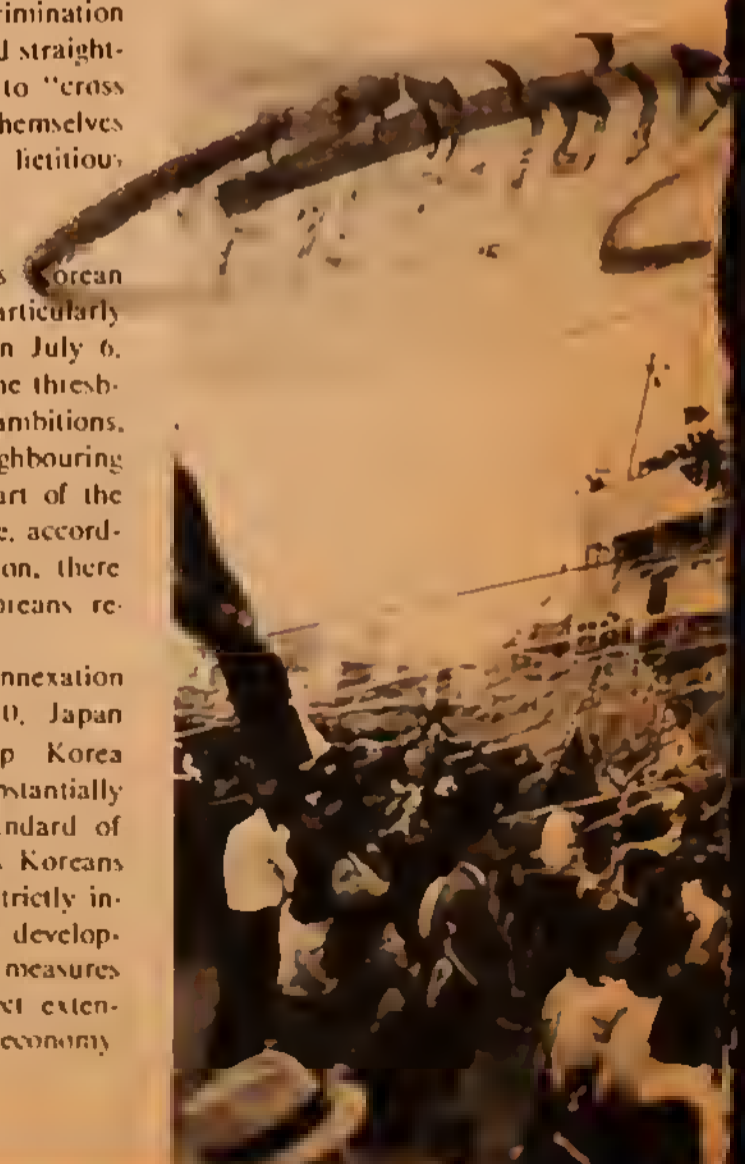
And all development plans during annexation failed to consider the needs of Koreans. The people were not permitted to participate in governing their own land; they were forced to sell much of their best real estate, private and public, to the Japanese; the Korean language, cultural identity, literature and institutions were deliberately suppressed. Education, although free, was entirely Japanese-oriented.

With conditions at home so dismal, many Koreans responded to the lure of employment, better living conditions and increased privileges in Japan. By 1936, one year before the Japanese invaded China, the number of Koreans in Japan stood at 660,000. Most were farm workers and unskilled labourers, a group representing the lowest strata of Korean society and, statistically, showing a high percentage of illiteracy, instability and criminal tendencies.

As immigrants from a subjugated nation, they soon found themselves victims of scorn, discrimination and exploitation. These factors, coupled with fric-



Baseball player Harimoto swats a home run at Tokyo's Korakuen ball park. He is one of several Koreans who have made good as athletes in Japan, rising above poverty of most of his compatriots.



tion that developed when Koreans and Japanese competed for work, led to an antagonism so deep it survives in this day.

By 1939, with Japanese militarists planning their "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" invasions, the People's Registration Ordinance — a law requiring registration of all Koreans between the ages of 15 and 50 — was passed. This marked the beginning of the forced migration of Koreans to Japan, a move designed to fill a need for labourers to contribute to the impending war effort.

Although there were no major incidents of resistance, the majority of Koreans aided the Japanese war effort with reluctance as shown by widespread, though disorganized, instances of sabotage and subversion.

THIS PERIOD was noteworthy: it marked the birth of a strong alliance between the Koreans and the underground Japanese Communist movement. Bound together by a common desire to undermine Japan's war effort, although there is no evidence that any substantial achievement came of the association, the two groups grew strong enough to survive the

war and to continue until the present time.

In fact, the League of Korean Residents in Japan, an organization born right after Japan's surrender under the leadership of a fiery radical, Kim Chun Hai (who spent the war years in a Japanese prison and is today the Mayor of Pyongyang), associated itself closely with the activities of Japanese Communists. The League's main purpose was to protect the rights of Koreans in Japan, and it commanded, at the time, the allegiance of almost the entire Korean community. Its success, however, was shortlived. Rivalry between the League's Communist and rightist factions soon erupted into open gangland-style warfare. Split by political dissension, the League died and was replaced by a number of leftist and rightist bodies.

With Japan's surrender, the majority of Korean exiles began streaming back to their homeland in an exodus so confused and disorganized that to this day no statistics exist on how many

actually returned in the first flood. With the help of American military authorities, however, some semblance of order was restored, and by August 1948, when repatriation ended, some 1,400,000 Koreans had been shipped home.

The million-odd exiles remaining in Japan were to play a central role in the drama of postwar Japanese-Korean relations. Some of these had balked at being repatriated when U.S. authorities limited each returning Korean to take with him only 1,000 yen and all the personal property he could carry. Others were Koreans who had earlier returned home only to find life there even worse than in Japan, and had sneaked back into the country. Then there were those who, after decades in Japan, had come to look on the country as home.

Korean-Japanese relations, already severely strained by disputes over wartime indemnities, fishing rights, failure to recover Korean records, books and works of art pillaged by Japanese, came to a head over the repatriation of Koreans remaining in Japan.

Seoul's position at this time was that Korea would gladly receive all Korean expatriates — provided Japan would pay each returnee a "reasonable" token indemnity for the forced labour it had exacted during annexation and the war. Japan at first indicated it would comply, but later requested the United States to help with funds. When Washington showed reluctance to pay even part of the indemnity, Japan began evading the issue, resulting in negotiations coming to a stalemate.

The negotiations, interrupted by the Korean War, resumed in April, 1958, with the Koreans uncompromisingly repeating their demands. At this stage North Korea, desperately short of labour, hinted that it would be glad to take the exiles, particularly those trained in Japanese industries. Japan, weary of bargaining with an uncompromising Seoul, promptly responded to Pyongyang's overtures. On August 13, 1959 an agreement was signed between the Japanese Red Cross

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## JAPAN'S NEGROES *continued*

Society and the Red Cross Committee of North Korea, under which Koreans in Japan who wished to be repatriated to North Korea would be shipped home. The exiles, most of whom were

transported from Japan on Soviet ships, totalled some 85,000 by the time the agreement expired.

This unexpected turn of events was a bitter pill for South Korea to swallow. In retaliation, Seoul promptly severed all trade ties with Japan, including the pur-

chase of Japanese products with U.S. aid funds. President Syngman Rhee pledged to "use all and any means available" to block the repatriation. Rhee's appeals to the U.S. were set back when the State Department finally made its position public. "The

*In the eyes of most Japanese, the Korean exiles are still undesirable as ever*

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United States," said a Washington spokesman, "has consistently endorsed the principle of voluntary repatriation based on full freedom of choice."

In the recriminations that followed, *Mindan*, the Korean Association of Japan, an organization supporting South Korea, added insult to injury by declaring that "the Seoul government had completely abandoned" Koreans in Japan.

The repatriation agreement with North Korea, renewed three times, expired last November.

*Mindan* claims a membership of 232,700, but admits that *Chosen Soren*, the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, which is sympathetic to North Korea, has a larger following. Most Koreans say *Chosen Soren* is the bigger and better organized of the two associations.

In the eyes of most Japanese, the Korean exile today is as much an undesirable as he ever was. Among other things, Koreans are accused of being carriers of disease, of habitual evasion of taxes, of "being brave today after having cowered in fear during the war," of contributing to the national rise in crime. There are, however, signs that the wall of prejudice is cracking.

In attempting to analyze Kim Hi Ro's motives during his hapless siege, an eminent psychologist, Professor Takeo Shiokawa, thought that Kim had some reason for his actions. Shiokawa said: "What had been smouldering in his heart as a result of strong discrimination, an inability to say what he wanted, and long forbearance was released through the murder of two Japanese."

A commentator in the mass-circulation *Asahi Shinbun* admitted that Kim's was "a criminal case with a background of ethnic discrimination." While this did not justify the murders, he added, "we can understand the vexations in Kim's heart." ■

